439 556 [583] in lieu of the death penalty [21] and they also served as betrothal presents.[22]

A village or a group of villages would possess fishing grounds in common. These were open to the free use 423 226 [685] of the members of the group but were prohibited to outsiders and violations of fishing grounds had to be compensated. In the *Hokkaidō Dojin Hōshiki Sonota Zatsuji Dai-Ryakuchō* [*HDHS*] [Great Abridged Compendium of the Laws and Other Matters of the Hokkaidō Natives] it says:

> In hunting or fishing, in the mountains or the sea, there was usually a boundary between districts and it was forbidden to hunt or fish in the territory of another district. In hunting, when people from Hitaka and Tokachi poached in the Ishikari region any native who apprehended them was authorized to confiscate their skins after interrogation. They were not deprived of their catch prior to questioning.

[224] [685]

423 229 According to the native Mombetsu Urenbōku,[23]

> There is a boundary within which we can catch deer, bear, and fish and the natives of the village are not allowed to hunt outside their territory. If they went into other territory, they would be immediately punished.

423 [195] While it may seem that the above divisions were the result of the *Basho* contract system, the fact seems to be that the *Basho* themselves were divided according to the hunting and fishing territories of the Ainu. For example, here is a judgment rendered in 1767 when the Atsuta *Basho* and the Masuke *Basho* quarreled over [671] their boundary line, "Affairs in Ezo shall be settled according to the custom of the Ezo." [24] A more positive proof lies in the fact that this custom of boundaries is found in the island of Etorofu where no *Basho* was established. In *Etorofu Shi* [History of Etorofu] under the year 1809 it says,

> There are boundaries, both in the mountains and the sea of which the chiefs are in charge. Outside one's own boundary one is prohibited from so much as even cutting a blade of grass. In the event that one sights a group of whales he is to receive permission from the chief of the territory and the catch is to be apportioned under the orders of the chief. The law is very stringent and anyone violating it is deprived of his catch as a punitive compensation after a charge and deliberation.

423 628 The quarrels among the Ainu communities were chiefly over hunting and fishing rights. Not only were hunting and fishing grounds communally owned but the community hunted and fished as a unit. In the *Ezo Kembun Shi* [A History of Personal Experiences in 423 226 [224] Ezo] 7, there is a translation of an epic or *Yukara* (in reality an *Isotaku* or hunting legend) supposedly dictated by an Ezo from Osarubetsu which gives a vivid description of how the Ainu help each other in bear

[21] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Yukara Kenkyū* (Studies in *Yukara*) 2: 240.
[22] Kōnō Tsunekichi, *Kyūdojin* (Aborigines), 8.
[23] *Hokkaidō Times*, June 29, 1918.
[24] Matsumae Hironaga, *Fukuyama Hifu Kokon Sojō-bu* (Section on Petitions, Fukuyama archives) in *SHS* 5: 234.

hunts by chasing the bear into a trap set with spring bows. This custom also applied to fishing and in Kondō Juzo's *Sō Ezochi Go Yōgai no gi ni tsuki Kokoro e Sōrō Omomuki Moshiage Sōrō Kakitsuki* [*SECG*] [An Investigation of the Strategic Importance of the Ezo Area as a Frontier] he refers to salmon fishing in Ishikari as follows, "During the winter the Ezo make fishing nets with their hands, organize a band and fish in rivers and at the shore."[25] The Pannakuro area along the Ishikari River was the common fishing ground for the upper river or Yūbari Ainu and the lower river or Yaushipa Ainu.[26]

This mutual aid was seen in distribution and utilization as well as production. In the *Tokachi Shū Ryakusetsu* [Outline of the Tokachi Region] it says, "A country was like a district, a district like a village, a family . . . therefore in hunting and fishing they cooperated and they distributed to those unable to work." In the *Watarishima Hikki* [Watarishima notebook]:

> There was no borrowing and lending. For shelter, they built their own houses, cutting down available trees and grasses and the whole village rendered aid. For clothes, they stripped trees of bark, weaving them into bark cloth which they wore. Food they obtained by themselves. It has been said that there are no Ezo who die of starvation but if any do the wealthy and poor perish together after the rich have exhausted their resources in supporting the poor. In daily life not even a glass of wine is enjoyed alone. They dined together and shared what they had to eat with everyone at the table. When there was very little food it was given to the old or to the children. For the old and feeble or those seriously ill who had no one to look after them food was carried to them at each meal. Whenever there was successful catch in the hunt or from fishing all friends and relatives were invited for a treat as we do.

From the *Ezo Miyage*[27] [Souvenirs of Ezo]:

> A surplus of food was always shared with others, no matter how small the amount. Women, when gathering for a smoke share the pipe with three to four persons. After one took a puff it was passed on to the next. When wine was drunk it was shared with all those present.

According to Shiikutoyotarek of Yūrabu every one of the villages went out to fish during the salmon season and distributed their catch among all and when someone killed a bear he would summon his village folk from a long distance around and they, meeting him and presenting him with homemade millet cakes, would be given a share of the meat. The meat to be distributed was cooked and the people went to the home of the hunter with receptacles for their share. However, the portion of meat given might differ according to the

[25] *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* (Complete works of Kondō Morishige), 1: 36.

[26] Nagata Hōsei, *Hokkaidō Ezogo Chimei Kai* (An analysis of Hokkaidō Ezo place names), 75, and Takakura Shinichirō, Nototorio danwa Kikigaki (Transcript of talks with Nototorio), *Hokkaidō Shakai Jigyō*, No. 37.

[27] Hizuka Kisei, *Ezo Fūzoku Ison* (Collection of Ezo customs) 1: chap. 8.

relationship of the recipient with the killer of the bear. For example, the tail was given to his mother and the hip bone to his father. It was also customary to give two shares to a pregnant relative.[28]

The scope of these hunting and fishing grounds could not have been very large judging from the catch and the methods used but there were probably some that extended over the area of several villages judging from the fact that the fishing rights of Kushiro, Nemuro, and Akkeshi were quarreled over in terms of the *kuni* [province] or *gun* [district] of today.[29] The size of the area differed according to the location and natural features. For example the Urai *Basho* weir was recognized as the place of the Tsuishikari chief Shirimauka, his wife, his sisters, and his descendants,[30] and while in Abuta bear dens were still the possession of a hunting union, in Oshabanabe the right to the den belonged to the discoverer and even his fellow villagers could not violate his rights.[31] In agriculture there seems to have been no cooperation among members of a family. Title to agricultural land seems to have been vested in him who occupied the land.[32]

It seems that to a certain degree there was division of labor, most apparently that between the sexes. The men engaged in hunting and fishing while the women took care of all other domestic affairs. In the *Igen Zokuwa* [Everyday Guide to the Ezo Language and Folklore] there is this passage: "It was the task of women to go to the mountains for firewood, to dig the roots of grass for food; to weave cloth with elm bark fiber and to draw water." A better description is found in the *Matsumae Shi* [History of Matsumae]:

> All day long he would hunt in the mountains and valleys with his poison arrow or go out into the sea in his boat to fish. After which he left his catch on the beach and went off to entertain himself while his wife and mistress would haul, dry, and make dry fish and salt fish. On rainy days it was the woman's task to sew clothes and engage in other work.

Division of labor between groups seems to have been restricted to trading the necessities of life with each other. From Sakai Tadaiku's *HDHS* there is this example: "In Tokachi deer were abundant but there were no salmon in the upper reaches of the Tōtsubetsu River while there were many salmon in the Tokachi River. Therefore, a trade was carried on at the point

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[28] April 30, 1933. Takakura Kikigaki.

[29] Yoshida Tōgo, *Dai Nihon Chimei Jiten* (Dictionary of Japanese place names), 336-337.

[30] *Sapporo Kushi* (History of the Sapporo region), 252.

[31] According to Era Sotaro of Abuta, "Bears' caves belonged to the person who found them and he would mark a sign on a nearby tree. Young men were taught how to hunt bear by the old men who had many caves and the distribution of the meat was directed by the old men. When a youth reached maturity he was given some of the caves." This indicates a kind of hunting group with the old men as leaders.

[32] Tamura Hiroshi, *Nihon Genshi Kyōsan-sei no Kenkyū* (Studies in primitive Japanese communalism), 30.

1:Takakura : H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
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the island. The same Maki Tadaemon reported as being told,

> Lord Matsumae's methods of trade are unfair. We are obliged to buy rice in sacks containing only seven or eight sho where they used to contain two to. Furthermore, if one bundle of shells is found to be short the next year he charges twenty bundles for it and if one is unable to produce them, his child is taken for ransom. Since all is carried out in the same manner it is a great hardship on the people of Bikuni.[17]

The chieftains of Yoichi, Sōya, and Riishiri had this to say: "It used to be that the rice from Matsumae came in two to sacks now they contain only seven or eight sho and they force us to continue trading on the same terms. In other matters they are also most unreasonable."[18] The chief of Shirafuka adds his complaint:

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> During the time of the Lord of the Island (probably Yoshihiro) trading conditions were one sack of rice containing two to for five bundles of dried salmon. Recently they have started to give us only seven or eight sho of rice for the same amount of fish. Since we people have no power of refusal we are obliged to do as they please.[19]

The Ezo were obliged to give their five bundles of salmon (100 fish) for a lesser quantity of rice for the simple reason that they were unable to trade with anyone else.

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3. Originally the *Chigyōnushi* traded only with the Ezo but as time passed the Japanese from Japan, who had originally gone to Ezo only to trade, engaged in hunting and fishing. The reason for this was that the productive capacity of the Ezo was too low to allow for a profitable trade only on the basis of what the Ezo had to offer. Now, while it is doubtful whether the Ezo conceived of sea fishing as their peculiar privilege, they did have the monopoly of fishing in streams and lakes, a right recognized by the Matsumae[20] and it was only natural for them to feel their rights violated when the Japanese came into their territory to fish. The valuable Maki Tadaemon is again our informant. The chief of Shirafuka complained to him:

> Recently merchants have come from Matsumae for *Aji* [salted salmon]. They cast huge nets in our rivers and the salmon they catch are taken to the mainland for sale. We have complained to them saying that if they catch all the fish there will be none left for us and we would be bereft of a means of making a living. They answer us by saying that we want too much and they remind us that this territory is the estate of the Matsumae and they even beat us. To make matters worse they bought the salmon we caught at a very low price.[21]

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[17] *Ibid.*, 173–174.
[18] *Ibid.*, 173.
[19] *Ibid.*, 174.
[20] "*Ainoma*," the right to the river, was given to the Ezo Chihorokai. "*Kennichi*," the autumn mackerel, was given to the Chief of the Ezo. *Matsumae Zuishō Roku* (Records of Matsumae trade).
[21] *Sapporo Kushi*, 174.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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INTRODUCTION

remained intact, and the Japanese religious beliefs and practices made little headway.

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The basic social unit among the Ainu was the simple family. A group of families formed a settlement or hamlet (*kotan*): the number of families in a settlement varied from one to over twenty, but was usually less than ten. Settlements were made near rivers, and sites were usually selected for their proximity to fishing grounds, especially the spawning grounds of the dog-salmon.

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A settlement or group of settlements constituted a politically autonomous local group, the unity and integrity of which was expressed by the common ownership of salmon spawning beds and common participation in certain rituals.[1] Members of the local groups regarded the river valley as their territory, and had exclusive rights to exploit its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders. For all economic purposes, the local group was self-sufficient.

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Among the fishing rituals practised by the Ainu the most important was the dog-salmon ritual (*kamuichep kamuinomi*). The elders of each household in the local group, owning common salmon spawning grounds, joined under their headman to perform the rites. There was a ritual to ensure the success of the coming salmon run, a first salmon ritual, and a ritual to return the spirits of the captured salmon to the land of the kamui.

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Hunting, particularly bear hunting, required strict adherence to ritual. The bear itself is a deity and the Bear Ceremony is the best known of all Ainu rituals.

London, 1956

Postscript by B. Z. Seligman

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It is well known that, from the earliest historical times, the Ainu were gradually driven north by the Japanese in Honshu. Frontier posts were established in the northern province of Mutsu to 'keep out the barbarians'. Sansom[2] states that in 805 a memorial to the

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[1] I received the following information from Mr Watanabe after further researches in 1957: In the Tokapchi district these groups are called *shine itokpa uko kor utar* (one and the same male ancestor-mark together possessing people). Characteristics of the group are: strong group consciousness, exclusive claim to the resources of the river basin, and collective ritual. There is no single authority, at least in normal times.—B.Z.S.

[2] G. B. Sansom, *Japan, a Short Cultural History*, The Cresset Press, London, 1931.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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795 769 825 776 worshipped at the same time, but notwithstanding this apparent neglect he was held in such awe that his skull was not used as a protector (*shiratki*), other birds being treated with sacred shavings and used in his place. In explanation, Munro suggested that the eagle owl might be a 'deity particular to certain Ainu'. Apparently he did not realize the importance of his own suggestion, founded as it was on a chance observation. However, when considered in conjunction with Mr Kubodera's observation that in the Saru district [184] every family worshipped two 'weighty' *kamui*, one of which was always Metot-ush Kamui, and that of Mr Watanabe in which he noted that the *kamui nomi* ritual differs according to the *ekashi-ikir* of the worshipper, Munro's observation has considerable importance and throws fresh light on the Ainu ancestral cult. Thus, with his other somewhat cryptic remark: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent', he brings forward both positive and negative evidence that the bear and the eagle owl, [778] both important *kamui* for all Ainu, are worshipped in the ancestral cult of specific localities, and also that the *itokpa* are symbols of the [614] patrilineal cult.[1] Further, the territorial character of the patri- [423] lineages in the north is established by the information given above by Rennuikesh.

795 769 776 114 Batchelor states that Kando-koro Kamui (Possessor of the Sky) was also addressed as Kotan-koro Kamui (Possessor of the Village) as was seen in Chapter I, p. 12, but unfortunately, there is no information to indicate whether the use of this title was common to all Ainu or limited to certain localities.[2] Although Batchelor was mistaken in considering this *kamui* to be a supreme deity, it is significant that the 'Possessor of the Kotan' epithet connects the *kamui* of the sky with that of a local group, and thus with the ancestral patrilineal cult.

795 769 614 Another indication of the importance of the *kotan* to the patrilineal ancestral group is seen in No. 10 of a series of invocations to various *kamui* for aid in difficult childbirth (see Appendix, p. 166).

782 845 [184] [1] It is unfortunate that the evidence we have does not indicate whether the Bear Kamui was associated with the ancestral cult in the Saru district only, or generally among the Ainu. Munro states that in the north Metot-ush Kamui was sometimes called Iworo Kamui; thus he is identifying the Bear with a territorial patrilineal group.

[2] I would like to suggest that the use may have been limited to certain territorial patrilineages.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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This is made to Nusa-koro Kamui, the Kamui of the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where, in olden times, it was customary to bury important elders. On this occasion, Nusa-koro Kamui is addressed as Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi (Ancestor Kamui who Rears the Kotan). Further evidence is seen in the title Iworo-koro Kamui (see above, p. 152). It is suggested that the bear, eagle owl, sky, and the chaff-thrown *kamui* (all, it should be noted, *pase kamui*) are each, in certain localities, connected with the *kotan* or the *iwor* (see below), territories occupied by patrilineages, and so associated with the ancestral cult.

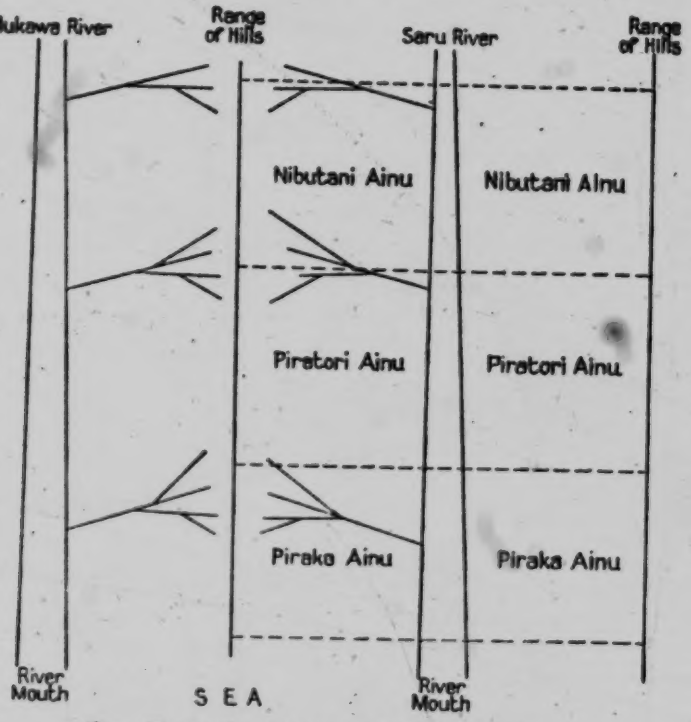
Kotan chieftainship has broken down. Where it still exists, succession follows the old custom and is patrilineal. The chief was called *Sapane guru* and the office passed to the eldest son. Munro was told that in the old days a bad chief might be put to death. Mr Seiichi Izumi states (*Journal of Japanese Ethnology*, 1951) that since the 1890s when the Ainu lost their territorial rights to hunting and fishing grounds, the strong territorial group life has disintegrated. Previously, the chief presided over the patrilineal family groups—the *ekashi-ikir*—of the locality. In text fig. 8 Munro shows diagrammatically how the local groups were arranged with regard to their hunting rights on the hills and fishing rights in the rivers and on the sea coast. Hunting by means of a spring bow (*kuari*) was a collective activity limited by village rights. Persons not belonging to these groups could not become members of the *kotan* unless they were adopted by a local *ekashi-ikir* and given its badge (*itokpa*), for which a valuable gift would be accepted. Within the territory (*iwor*) of the *kotan* each family had certain exclusive rights which were transmitted from father to eldest son. These were specified hunting rights, fishing rights in rivers and on the coast, and the right to collect the herb from which aconite poison is extracted. No one was allowed to enter the *iwor* of another *kotan* without permission.

Mr Watanabe states that after the Ainu were given plots of land for cultivation in 1885 the *iwor* organization began to disintegrate, but in his recent researches in the Topachi district (1957) he found the largest territorial group to be the *ekashi-ikir*, each of which was associated with its type of *itokpa*. Thus he confirms Munro's somewhat obscure statement that the eagle owl might be 'a deity particular to certain Ainu', and, further, he indicates that the bear deity is associated with the *ekashi-ikir*.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

769 Munro states that the 'disembodied ones' (*Anaishiri*) are the [778] dead in the ancestral line (*shinrit*). He suggested that all *shutu inau* [301] were representations of ancestors, and he considered them to be effigies.

[776] Most of the headband-badges have reference to the same animal spirits which are also associated with the women's *kut*.



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TEXT FIGURE 8.—Fishing and Hunting Rights.

Note. Other *Kotans* are not indicated. The dotted lines are simply intended to represent the principle of assigning rights by mutual agreement. The watersheds form the boundaries.

776 To sum up:

769 Among the large number of *kamui* associated with the needs of 614 all Ainu, and appealed to by all for their help, are some who receive special worship from the men of certain patrilineages and are

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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associated in these lineages with the ancestor cult.[1] These *kamui* receive esoteric ancestral worship as well as the worship paid them by the whole population.

A number of the *kamui* associated with the patrilineal ancestral cult are also associated with some of the women's matrilineal kin groups and are worshipped by the women of such groups separately. These women's matrilineal kin groups and the men's patrilineages worshipping the same *kamui* seem to be quite separate, and there is no hint of exogamous prohibition between them. Each sex worships separately, and both regard this worship as ancestral and secret. In each group the members of one sex only recognize kinship obligations and render one another mutual aid.

One *kamui* stands in a special relationship to women, Kamui Fuchi. She resides in the hearth of every Ainu home, and all women regard her as their own ancestress. She acts as intermediary between the elders and all other *kamui*. When any *kamui* is invoked, the elder first prays to her and offers her an *inau*. There is no evidence that she has an *itokpa* or other sign to show that she is especially attached to any patrilineage.

The patrilineages are territorial corporate groups, formerly owning defined areas where they held the sole rights of hunting, fishing and collecting.[2] The matrilineal kin groups are scattered, but are bound together by ties of mutual obligations. Each group worships separately chosen members of the Ainu pantheon closely associated with its own ancestors.

It is difficult to classify the structure of the Ainu social system. It is not a double unilineal descent system (as I once supposed)[3] as

[1] Professor Fortes has drawn my attention to the similarity of this condition to that of the Yoruba, among whom the gods (*orisha*) are believed to have been originally ancestors. Any one of these gods may be worshipped by certain lineage groups or by individual members of different groups. These gods are common to all Yoruba, but particular lineages, or individuals, select an individual god for special worship (Bascom, *The Yoruba-Speaking Peoples of South Africa*, Part IV).

[2] Mr Watanabe, between 1954 and 1957, carried out further investigations in Tokapachi district and obtained more information concerning the old hunting and fishing areas, including the salmon-spawning beds and aconite gathering localities. His work shows the importance of the patrilineages as corporate groups.

[3] See footnote 1, p. 145. See also *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, published for the International African Institute by the Oxford University Press, 1950: Daryll Forde, *Double Descent Among the Yakö*, pp. 285–332, and S. F. Nadel, *Dual Descent in the Nuba Hills*, pp. 333–359.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

fish in the run, so that it was less efficient during the daytime when they usually remained inactive. It was used towards evening when the fish began to stir and again towards daybreak when they ceased to move about. It was a method most effectively employed in the earlier phase of the run, i.e. the period before the spawning of dog salmon and cherry salmon, when they continued their ascent. When the spawning time arrived, its place was taken by the more efficient method of spearing in the spawning grounds. Each family set up one hut, which was used by one of its male members, usually the house-head. Each family usually owned its own *worun chise*, which they erected anew each year on the same site, unless there was any great change in the site or surroundings. In reality the hut was open to the danger of thaw in spring and its conditions were made precarious by floods which recurred annually. At least in Mukawa those groups located near the estuary built cone-shaped dark huts, *shimpui chise*, on the frozen river and speared dace, Hucho perryi and other fishes through a hole.

The Basket-trap.

The basket-trap, *urai* or *rauomap*, made of pliable twigs and semi-conical in shape, was, like the *marek*, one of the most familar fishing devices known to the Ainu Fig. 2, c). It was in extensive and general use for a great variety of fishes including dog salmon, cherry salmon and dace. Pointed at one end and open at the other, the trap was attached to the bottom of a V-shaped wattle-work fences or leader made of piled stones narrowing in the direction of the downstream. It was sometimes set to catch fish running upstream. In this case an accessory made of twigs was attached inside the mouth of the device to prevent fish from turning back outside.

When the spawning season set in, there were great runs into the glens of the cherry salmon that had been waiting in the larger and main streams. In order to catch them the basket-trap was set mostly in the glens and at their mouths. The main spawning grounds of the dog salmon lay distributed in the main streams as distinguished by the Ainu along which their settlements were located. They set the trap in the shallower and more rapid streams divided by shoals (*pet arikehe*) to trap dog salmon as they came down circling about and between the spawning areas. It played an active part as the fish began to spawn. The implement was usually made, erected and used by each family at the hands of women, although in time of a spate male members might help in driving piles and other work. As far as the salmon was concerned, the womanly device, the *urai*, played a supplementary role to the manly device, the *marek*. Thus the smaller the catch with the *marek* by a family, the greater the number of the *urai* it used. In the same local group where some families owned none, others might have three or four, the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

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V

TERRITORIES AND GATHERING AREAS

A territory here is defined simply as an area defended and protected by members of a group against intruding members of other groups. Though various types of territories were held by the Ainu, all were concerned with the exploitation of natural resources found thereon. Ainu territorialism was a part of the spatial structure of their community which had a direct relevance to their adaptation to habitat. The maintenance of a territory could be an important factor in relation to the distribution and spacing of groups and to group activities (cf. BARTHROMIW and BIRDSELL, 1963).

Territories as held by the Ainu fall into two categories: one, the territory inhabited and utilized exclusively by a river group as a whole (p. 16), and the other, inner-territories stewarded as gathering sites by individual groups within the river group, i.e. local groups, cooperative groups and simple families.

The Territory Held by the River Group.

The territory occupied by each river group formed itself on the basis of a *pet* or a river as prescribed by the Ainu themselves and its surrounding area (p. 16). So far as the territories surveyed by the present writer are concerned, this covered an area bounded in partly by mountain ridges forming watersheds for the adjoining rivers, *pet*, and partly by tributaries of the river or adjoining rivers, as seen in the case of Otopuke, Tokapchi, Tushipet, Azuma and Saru[45]. As regards the Shikot the actual line of demarcation is unknown except for that interior part which was bounded in by the crest lines forming the watersheds for the adjoining rivers. As far as the present writer has examined, the actual lines of demarcation of most of these territories, as shown on Map 2, present some difficulty in identification, especially in the lower regions, although it seems doubtful whether such ambiguity had actually existed or the memory has been lost to available informants.

Attention must be directed to the fact that a river group and its territory were not necessarily based on a geographically defined river system as a unit. Sometimes a single river group and its territory evolved around a river system, as with the Azuma; sometimes more than one river group and their territories developed around a single river system, as with the Tokapchi, each evolving around the main stream or one of the larger tributaries.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

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Geographically Defined River System	Component River around which a River Group Evolved	Number of River Groups & Their Territories
Azuma River	Azuma	1
Mukawa River	Mukawa	1
Ishikari River	Ishikari Shikot Others unidentified	2 (or more ?)
Saru River	Saru ?Nukapira[46]	1 (or 2?)
Tokapchi River	Tokapchi Tushipet Ashoro Otopuke Satnai	5

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Each territory utilized exclusively by the residing river group can be divided according to Ainu's exploitation activity into the following five ecological zones (Fig. 8):

1) the river and its tributaries,
2) the river banks,
3) the river terraces,
4) the stretch of hillsides along the river course,
5) the high mountain region around the source of the river.

In order to supply themselves with a set of biotic species needed for subsistence, the Ainu exploited these different areas in accordance with particular ecologies of species and particular techniques for their exploitation. In this manner the territory occupied by a river group formed a nearly or completely self-sufficient unit of Ainu habitat. Sometimes, a failing supply of a needed item within its own area or a finding of better sites without, induced some members of a river group to pass across its boundary. Two of such essential items were the bear and the aconite plant for preparing arrow poison. Except for these, all river groups were self-sufficing in necessary items (p. 85). In short, the Ainu had seldom to overstep their boundaries for gathering purposes. As regards the staple items in particular, such as deer, dog salmon, cherry salmon and edible plants, every river group was at ordinary times sufficiemtly supplied from resources found within its own territory.

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When for gathering purposes any one was to step into a river group territory other than his own, no matter for what, where and how, the person was required to obtain from some one of the headmen of the river valley concerned a formal permission accompanied with a rigid ritual procedure. And there was possibility of such permit not granted by a headman who had

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 59]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Fig. 8. Diagram representing a river valley as the territory of a river group and its ecological zones.

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11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

619 the sole power to act in the matter. On getting permission, the person was
423 made acceptable to all other local groups within the territory through communication and introduction by the issuing headman (p. 77).

423 Territories Maintained by Groups Smaller than the River Group within the
621 Territory of the River Group[47].

The following territories were maintained by individual simple families, cooperative groups and local groups forming the larger group, i. e. the river group: places for setting bows and deer-fences, named concentrations of spawning beds of dog salmon, sites for peep-fishing huts, fish-traps and weirs.

Evidence from Saru suggests that a site for digging aconite in the lower Saru was under control of a local group nearest to it (WATANABE, 1951, pp. 78-79). It is true that collecting sites for the plant of 'best' quality were localized (p. 66). The territoriality on the sites in other areas is unknown. It seems to be certain that bears' dens were owned by Ainu hunters but the category of the controlling body can not be identified clearly.

Types of Territory

Territory Maintained by the River Group as a Whole	Territories Maintained by Smaller Groups within the River Group	Controlling Body	Condition of the Place
River basin as prescribed by the Ainu	Site for peep-hut (*worun chise karu ushi*)	Individual simple family	Unstable
	Site for fish-trap (*urai karu ushi*)		
	Site for weir (*tesh karu ushi*)		
	Place for setting bows (*ku ari ushi*)	Cooperative group	Stable
	Place for deer-fence (*kuteki ushi*)		
	Named concentration of spawning beds of dog salmon (*yaicharo iki, ichan* or *ichanumi*)	Local group	Very stable

The ichthyological characters of the spawning beds and grounds of dog
[796] salmon have already been described (Note 28). It was customary with each Ainu local group to give a name to the respective spawning grounds near their settlement where spawning beds of the salmon recurred every season in a greater concentration than elsewhere and to observe anually a series of rituals for these as the controlling body of the particular fishing grounds (p.
[311] 72). Each settlement was usually situated near one of the spawning grounds

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of their own local group which was exploited most intensively by the settlement group. It is evident that besides these spawning grounds controlled by local groups there were many other smaller spawning grounds and scattered spawning beds which were neither named nor claimed by any group but were open to any members of the river group for exploitation without permission. Examples of spawning grounds thus named and controlled by local groups are given as follow (Map 2).

Named Spawning Grounds on the Otopuke, a Tributary to the Tokapchi[49]
(in descending order of location)

Name of Spawning Ground	Approximate Length (yd.)	Group Exploiting Regularly	Controlling Body
Naitai-putu Un Ichanuni	40	Naitai settlement group	Local group of upper Otopuke
Kamaune Un Ichanuni	200	Kamaune settlement group	"
Wop-putu Un Ichanuni	100	Wop settlement group	"
Nipushipet Un Ichanuni	200	Nipushipet settlement group	Local group of lower Otopuke
Ochirushi Un Ichanuni	40	Ochirushi settlement group	"
Otopuke-putu Un Ichanuni**	300-400	Settlement groups lower than Nipushipet	"

Named Spawning Grounds on the Upper Tokapchi[49]
(in descending order of location)

Name of Spawning Ground	Approximate Length (yd.)	Group Exploiting Regularly	Controlling Body
Kamuirokki Un Ichan	200	Kuttarashi settlement group	Kuttarashi Group as local group
Honnarakki Un Ichan	100	"	"
Wenshiri Un Ichan	400	"	"
Umshupenai Un Ichan	600 or more	"	"
Sustaifuisam Un Ichan	300	Nitmap settlement group	Nitmap group as local group
Nitmap Un Ichan	400	"	"
Parato Un Ichan	200 or more	"	"
Tomamapet Un Ichan	200	"	"
Kapot-pira Un Ichan*	300	Pipaushi settlement group	Pipaushi group as local group
Ohorukot Un Ichan	200	"	"
Okatmapka Un Ichan (on the Sahorun, a tributary)	100	"	"

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Name of Spawning Ground	Approximate Length (yd.)	Group Exploitung Regularly	Controlling Body
Tannepet Un Ichan	more than 400	Kumaushi settlement group	Kumaushi group as local group
Pashiushi Un Ichan	200	"	"
Shipenpet Un Ichan**	300-400	Sanenkoro settlement group	Sanenkoro group as local group
Enkoroomanai-putu Un Ichan (on the Sahorun)	100	"	"
Nupuchimip-putu Un Ichan (on the Sahorun)	200	"	"
Sahorun-putu Un Ichan (on the Sahorun)	200	"	"
Sarunnai-putu Un Ichan (on the Shikaripet, a tributary)	?	Sarunnai settlement group	Moseushi group as local group
Nyashikesh Un Ichan (on the Shikaripet)	above 200	Nyashikesh settlement group	"
Kuttekuush Un Ichan (on the Shikaripet)	200	Moseushi settlement group	"
Penke-pipaushi Un Ichan	?	Penke-pipaushi settlement group	(Particulars unknown)
Kene Un Ichan	600	Kene settlement group	Kene group as local group
Kiushiful Un Ichan	400	"	"
Reukenupuru Un Ichan	200-400	"	"
Chepotpiuka Un Ichan***	300	Memroputu settlement group	Memroputu group as local group
Nutap-etufu Un Ichan	above 200	"	Possively Memroputu group as local group
Uparupenai Un Ichan	200-250	"	"
Kutu Un Ichan	200-250	"	"
Pira-chorupok Un Ichan	250	Fushikopet and Furememm settlement group	(Particulars unknown)
Memro-putu Un Ichan	100	"	"
Shipet-arike Un Ichan	?	"	"
Chep-makanpet Un Ichan	250	Ponsatnai settlement group	(Particulars unknown)

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[103]

Named Spawning Grounds on the Satnai, a Tributary to the Tokapchi[60]
(in descending order of location)

Name of Spawning Ground	Approximate Length (yd.)	Group Exploiting Regularly	Controlling Body
Nupokomap Un Ichan	200	Nupokomap settlement group	Nupokomap group as local group
Riyoromap Un Ichan	?	"	"
Urekarip Un Ichan	600	Urekarip settlement group	Urekarip group as local group

The analysis of the spawning grounds on the Azuma is incomplete owing to the death of Ushintasan, the chief informant from the area. There are some data on the spawning grounds on the Saru; however, the time horizon concerned is shortly after the land allotment[61]. [115]

The nature of the hunting grounds was previously explained in relation to their hunting devices (p. 31; Notes 33 and 37). Distribution of the hunting grounds of the cooperative groups from Nitmap and Pipaushi is shown in the charts in pp. 45–46 and in Map 2.

The area of the territories maintained by a given group never extended beyond the capacity of the group for direct and efficient exploitation of them. Nor were any new grounds sought elsewhere until those hitherto utilized had fallen unproductive. If a group moved to a new locality leaving its ground in disuse, it ceased to have claim on the old territory. The number of fish-trapping sites varied to a considerable extent with different familes. This means that more traps were used by families with less catches by spearing against the total amount of supply needed. How these holdings by individual simple families and cooperative groups were inherited remains to be explored.

Each territory held by simple family, cooperative group or local group served as a ground for supplying specific resources, but it was only for a period of time peculiar to the ecology of each game to be obtained. For example, the bear-hunting ground was good only in spring and autumn and the dog-salmon spawning-grounds in autumn only. As a result, territorialism held by the Ainu for their localities waxed strong in season and nearly or entirely vanished out of season. On the other hand, inter-river-group-territorialism—territorialism which a river group displayed for its own river valley—induced them to refuse a stranger or outsider to exploit any kind of its resources without permission, whether in season or out of season. 423 221 311 [619]

Except spawning grounds of dog salmon and colonies of aconites, these territories controlled by the smaller groups within the river group are found in every instance to be fishing or hunting grounds furnished with fixed instruments. Unless conditions for exploiting specific resources did not fall off, 423

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423 the same group enjoyed a successive use of the same site within which no outsider could bring in specific instruments or exploit specific resources. 423 They were to 'refrain' from such acts. Spawning grounds of the dog salmon 619 were not available even to fellow river-group-members except on permission [628] formally obtained from the headman of the controlling local group. Such permission could be had whenever asked by anyone in the same river group (p. 77).

Except for such specified localities, the entire area within the river group territory might be utilized freely by any member belonging to the group. In this open area any person, male or female, could freely open up a new ground for set-bow hunting or trap-fishing, go hunting with hand-bow, or go about collecting plants. It appears that even the aforesaid specific localities were open to anyone in the same river group when it was not season assigned for a particular locality.

[311] Despite the presence of the aforesaid free-gathering areas within the river group territory, the Ainu usually were able to obtain most of their necessary supplies from the immediate surroundings of each settlement without having to go out great distances for the gathering (Maps 2).

2226 Areas Actually Covered by Ainu Gatherers (Map 2).

311 Fishing Areas.

628 Generally, the dog salmon was taken for the most part in and around the spawning grounds found near the settlement. Favourable sites for the use of fixed fishing gear and hidings of the salmon suited for daytime spearing, were all found centred around the concentrations of the spawning beds or spawning grounds which best fitted night spearing (Figs. 3 and 4). Some fishermen from each settlement went farther down their stream in early season; as the season advanced they turned upstream and then went down again in late season, for the farther downstream, the earlier the arrival of the salmon and the longer its stay and the farther upstream, the earlier the spawning (Note 26). Thus some of Otopuke and Azuma fishermen went into the area of the next settlement or even farther within the territory of their river group; but the fishermen on the upper Tokapchi seldom went to the area close on an adjacent settlement. The people of Opchapet and Ichanpet settlements in Otopuke, who had relatively few and sporadic spawning beds near their settlements, went to the spawning grounds regularly exploited by the neighbouring Kamaune settlement belonging to their local group and by permission went farther down to the spawning ground of the Nipushipet settlement which belonged to another local group. By the same reason the people of Azuma, a settlement and a local group belonging to the Azuma river group, went fishing dog-salmon up in the water area near the adjacent

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619 Actions for the Maintainance of the River Group Territory.

628 All Ainu territories were defended and protected for the natural resources
423 found therein. Protection of a river group territory and guarding it from trespasses, as will be seen later, comprised the following practice: reporting by any one of his or her passing or coming to a gathering site to the nearest settlement; keeping watch by each local group member over any outsider, questioning him or her about suspicious conduct and reporting it to the headman; and checking by the headman of all information brought in by his group members and keeping contact by him with other headmen in the same river area. The scheme thus functioned with cooperation of the local group members and a cooperation between headmen in the same valley. It must be noted, however, that these actions for defending the river group territory against trespasses were no specialized occupation of specific personnel but were merely side work performed by each Ainu while engaging in regular manual work. As a result, the extent of effective vigilance seems to have been confined to the area covered habitually in daily routine. It may be assumed therefore that in large but sparsely populated river valleys like the Tokapchi, especially in the mountainous regions, scattered areas occured which were seldom or rarely visited by any Ainu at ordinary times, areas belonging to a river group but left unwatched and unprotected against trespassing.

619 The activities of a river group in defence of their river basin were inte-
224 grated into the following customs. Every Ainu, before going on a hunt, ob-
628 served a joint ritual with fellow hunters at the headman's, to whom he made
423 known his general plans and his intended sites for setting spring bows in particular, making at the same time necessary arrangements with other hunters. If the man was going for hand-bow hunting into a mountain on his river course unfamiliar to him or not habitually covered by his fellow members, the custom was for him to call on the headman whose people knew the area well, obtained information about it and the distribution of spring-bow sites in particular, and made his plans known to him. It was also the custom for any one, when hunting in an area in the same valley covered by members of another local group, to make a salutary report to some one of the group concerned, if not to the headman. It was done by way of report or notice rather than for asking formal permission from the headman. If the hunter wished to set spring bows, he should never fail to give detailed information to the headman and get his full understanding beforehand. As regards fish-
619 628 423 [226] ing in the open area within his river group territory, it was customary for every fisherman going to a site habitually covered or exploited by another group to report to the settlement of that group either on his way there or back. Otherwise, it might cause the people of the settlement to be troubled

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and even alarmed that some stranger, that is, some member of another river group, was venturing trespass'. These procedures, instead of being formulae for asking permission, were to all appearances necessary precautions against possible intrusion from outsiders, i.e. members of other river groups. The headman was kept well informed of every development by his group members and was also in mutual contact with the headmen of neighbouring local groups of his valley. In this manner he was enabled to keep checking who were fishing or hunting in the area habitually covered by his members, where and by whom poison-arrows were being set, and whether or not rituals requisite for exploiting the given resources were conducted properly.

As has been described in this chapter, Ainu territorial actions are part of their community activities indubitably correlated with and conditioned by certain physical factors in their habitat, while they are also a result of community reactions to habitat as viewed by the Ainu themselves, i.e. the subjective or non-physical aspect of habitat, as may be seen in the next chapter.

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231 796 own ceremonies, only took part in those of the other sections of the *shine itokpa* group[68].

796 619 423 Territoriality and the System of Social Solidarity between the Ainu and Habitat.

The Ainu used to believe that the *kamui*-spirits which lived in the *iworu* of the neighbouring river looked after them. The inhabitants of a river, i.e. the river group, claimed exclusive rights to exploit the resources in the river basin which consisted of land- and river-*iworu*. Outsiders were allowed no [796] access to those resources except by permission. The permission was obtainable from the headman of any local group in the river valley by going through a certain ritual procedure for the local *kamui*-spirits. Their claim to resources on land was activated not only by their economic interest but also by their cosmological system as such.

423 226 [628] [782] If some one wanted to fish at the spawning grounds owned by another local group, he had to ask for permission of the headman of that group. Under the direction of the headman, the applicant observed a proper ritual for the fire-spirit and the river-owning spirit and offered *inau*-sticks made [431] by him to the spawning ground where he wanted to fish. After fishing, he would give part of his catches to the headman and the people who lived near the spawning ground and customarily fished there. The proportion of the amonunt of the 'gift to the fire-spirit' to his catches seems not to have been prescribed. Among the member local groups of the same river group, permission was usually given without fail.

Fishing in areas of a river outside of those named spawning grounds and private sites was freely done as occasion demanded by the people of the same river, that is, by the members of the river group. There was, however, a custom that in order to prevent any fishing by outsiders without permission, every fisherman gave information of his coming to the people of the nearby [431] settlement. Sometimes he might inform on his way home. Also in this case, part of his catches was usually given to them as a gift to the fire-spirit.

776 619 423 [782] In the case of gathering, either fishing, hunting or collecting, in the territory of a different river group, one had to get permission from any one of the headmen in the river valley, regardless of the method of one's fishing or hunting. Such permission was given on the performance of a ritual for local *kamui*-spirits concerned, but not always, because assurance was required that [685] the fisherman or hunter be faithful to the local *kamui*-spirits. The discoverer of any tresspasser must bring him to his headman or some headman available [782] at hand in the river valley, to make him apologize as soon as possible to the local *kamui*-spirits of the river concerned[69]. Also the discovery of such evidence of tresspass as salmon bones thrown in the mountains of the river was

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a cause for serious issue, for it meant a grave violation to the *kamui*-spirits of the river from which the people of the river or the river group received exclusive favour and which they guarded with greatest caution. The Ainu expressed the maintaining of their territory, that is, the territory of the river group, by the words 'the guard of our *iworu* owning *kamui*-spirits'. Their territoriality was actually activated not only by economic interest but by their system of social solidarity with nature as such.

The Ainu world was full of divine visitors: all the natural resources exploited by them were *kamui*-spirits in temporary guises. In consequence all their gathering activities implied social intercourse with *kamui*. Moreover, each *kamui* had its own function in relation to the economic and social activities of the Ainu. Thus there was a close interdependence between Ainu and *kamui*, and their rituals and taboos were an expression of this relationship. The relationship, that is, the social solidarity between Ainu and *kamui* was established on the principle of coresidence or local contiguity[79]. Ainu cosmology emphasized its component of spatial orientation; nature, i. e. *kamui*, were ordered on local basis. The effective ritual relationship between those spatially oriented *kamui* and the Ainu was in the hands of the patrilineal kin group of males which formed the basis of the Ainu local organization.

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backed by cosmology. Claim to the river valley as their territory; the members free to exploit without permission any resources in the valley except subterritories (hunting and fishing sites) maintained by various groups of lower order. The members potential colaborees in case of defence of their territory and a single unit in case of collective ritual against a catastrophic natural phenomenon.

2. The Ainu exploited their habitat by means of a set of techniques. Each of their gathering techniques, operated by an individual or in cooperation, was applied to each of specific resources in specific places at specific times; gathering techniques were linked in an order in terms of their spatial and temporal arrangement. Through the arrangement of technical devices and activities the Ainu ecological system was structured spatially and temporally. The spatio-temporal structure was closely connected with the cyclical changes in the habits of the biotic species exploited by them.

3. The periodical changes of those biotic species to which their ecological system was closely related took place approximately synchronically in different places. Accordingly the Ainu, omnivorously dependent upon various food supplies of such a character, had to exploit resources in different places at the same time. They solved this problem by means of intrafamily division of labour and intrafamily and interfamily cooperation as well as by some automatic devices.

4. Any of their gathering techniques can be manipulated by a single person or a family; the nature of techniques limits the scale of cooperation. Cooperation in gathering was usually between households in the same settlement. No more than three households cooperated in any kind of gathering activity.

5. Staple food-stuffs of the Ainu were gathered from a relatively narrow area surrounding their settlement and covering three ecological zones, i.e. the river along which they settled, its river banks and river terraces. Main hunting and fishing sites were fixed in location owing to the adaptability of their techniques to migrative habits of animals. Under these conditions, the Ainu were enabled to live in permanent settlement in spite of their dependence upon gathering life. Settlements, however, were usually small in size and were scattered along a river course in connection with the distribution of the spawning grounds of dog salman.

6. The Ainu maintained several categories of territories. The major category was the territory of a river group which covered the valley of a river as distinguished by the Ainu and was maintained throughout the four seasons.

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105 The river valley constituted a unit area of resource distributions; the territory formed a nearly or completely self-contained unit of Ainu habitat. Within this were territories of minor categories which were seasonally maintained by such smaller groups as the local group, the cooperative group and the individual household. These might be hunting or fishing sites exploited by means of fixed devices or concentrations of certain specific resources which annually recurred at the same places.

105 7. The ecological system of the Ainu functions on adaptation of their techniques to the spatio-temporal structure of the activities of biotic species. The Ainu system of relationships in beliefs and ritual of man and nature is their own theory and practice for maintainance of the ecological system.

105 8. The Ainu system of social solidarity between man and nature was established on the principle of coresidence or local contiguity within a river valley as the territory of the river group. Ainu cosmology emphasized its component of spatial orientation; nature, i.e. *kamui*, were ordered on local basis. The effective ritual relationship between those spatially oriented *kamni* and the Ainu was in the hands of the patrilineal kin group of males which was the basis of Ainu local organization.

121 Every organism leads its concrete life in a given environment; that no animal can function apart from its habitat is amply shown in animal ecology. It follows that when we look at man as a functioning organism and try to understand his group life as part of a living system, the relationship of the group with its habitat should be first examined. The present study shows that between the Ainu and their habitat there exist two systems of interrelations working on quite different levels: the first is an ecological system, i.e. a system of relationships through technological activities of man with habitat, and the second, a system of social solidarity between man and nature, i.e. a system of relationships through beliefs and rituals of man with habitat.

Significance of ecological factors relevant to group structure has been worked out by STEWARD (1938), EVANS-PRITCHARD (1940) and FORDE (1947) and the importance of the relationships through native beliefs and rituals between man and nature in connection with social organization has been shown by RADCLIFFE-BROWN (1952) and FORDE (1954), while the present study on the Ainu shows the reciprocal adjustment between the ecological system and the system of social solidarity between man and habitat and the group structure.

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p. 59).

Dens in very good conditions are used again in the following season by the same individuals, or sometimes by different individuals even two or three years later. For this reason, the Ainu regard the bear's den as something like a property (ibid., p. 63).

e) Place of hibernation and seasonal migration.—The bear is an animal which takes its abode in the mountain forest; however, owing to the food condition, it performs fairly constant migration. At the end of the autumn, it comes down from the mountains in search of food considerably near to human habitation and then begins hibernation. Coming out of its den in spring it goes back again to the interior (INUKAI, 1933, p. 58). In the mountain and forest district of Akan which retains more primitive conditions than other districts, according to the Ainu informants, a good many of the bears hibernate in the environ of Mt. O-akan which is rich in rock-caves suitable for their purpose. Part of those bears migrate toward Mt. Me-akan in early spring (INUKAI, 1934, p. 32).

(37) MATUURA's diary of his geographical exploration in 1857-1858 in the Ainu territory in Hokkaido (MASAMUNE, ed., 1937) contains some information on the local distribution of Hokkaido bears which supports the generalization from the writer's own data. The areas described by MATUURA as abounding with bears are all river-source areas (ibid., pp. 148, 156, 417 and 627), and the bear hunting grounds of the Ainu he incidentally recorded are all distributed in the source areas of rivers (ibid., pp. 284, 667 and 678). Regions recorded in connection with the deer are in every case distinct from these areas, places noted for abundance in the animal occuring invariably on level plains or hill skirts (ibid. pp. 134, 244, 273, 275, 365, 396, 415, 417 and 663).

(38) The scientific names here mentioned have been taken, for Nos. 9, 10 and 17, from MURAKOSHI and MAKINO's Manual of Flora in Japan (MURAKOSHI and MAKINO, 1956) and, for the remainder, from MAKINO's Manual of Flora in Japan (MAKINO, 1951) by referring through their Japanese names to CHIRI's dictionary (CHIRI, 1953). The places of occurence or habitat are cited from the bulletin of the Experimental Farm of Hokkaido (Hokkaido Nōji Shikenjyō, ed., 1931), with some modifications suggested by Dr. Hiro KANAI, of Botanical Institute, Tokyo University; reference was also made to The Hokkaido Government's Report (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1917), and to MAKINO's Manual of Flora in Japan (MAKINO, 1951). For detailed information on the cultural meanings and the uses of plants utilized by the Ainu, see CHIRI's dictionary (1953).

[p. 138]

(45) Evidence for non-coincidence between the river group territory and the valley of the river. 133 423 619 823

Tokapchi.—Geographically, the river Sorapchi is a tributary of the river Ishikari and its valley a part of the valley of the Ishikari river system. Practically, however, the part of the Sorapchi river basin that lies above the line of the Nishitap glen that feeds it and the Numoppe glen that feeds the Nishitap, formed a portion of the Tokapchi river group's territory (Map 2). This means that Tokapchi territory extended in part over the intervening watershed into the Ishikari river basin. In this extension of territory the Tokapchi Ainu from at least the Kuttaraushi and Nitmap local groups maintained hunters' huts, to which they came for bear hunts every season (p. 59). The area was also visited by collectors from Tokapchi who gathered bark for making textile material. For the fact of its belonging to the Tokapchi river group Ushino from Nitmap accounts: "The upper Sorapchi runs parallel with the Sahorun that feeds the Tokapchi and points with it in the direction of Mt. Optateshuke, the 'head' mountain of the river Tokapchi. That is why the upper Sorapchi belonged to Tokapchi". A similar reason is seen applied to the following other cases. The valley of the Shikaripet, tributary to the Tokapchi and inhabited by some of the member local groups of the upper Tokapchi *shine itokpa* group, belonged for the most part to the Tokapchi, or *shipet*, river group. But part of its lower region, that part of it on the Otopuke side which is bordered by the river's lower course from the mouth to the junction with the tributary Penkechin glen and then by the course of this glen, was included in the Otopuke river group territory (Map 2). The point was confirmed by my two informants, Ushino from Tokapchi and Kazari from Otopuke. Ushino explains that 'inasmuch as the Shikaripet flows out of one mountain with the Tokapchi, it belonged truly to Tokapchi.' Kazari on the other hand explains that the glens of the Shikaripet on its west side belonged to Tokapchi because they all point to the depth of Tokapchi, whereas those on its north side belonged to Otopuke because they point to Otopuke.

Otopuke.—The terriotry of the Otopuke river group stretched out again in part in its interior region into the geographical basin of the neighbouring Tushipet, extending the whole breadth between the Meto and Nukanan glens down to the Piripet tributary into which they flow, the three streams forming the boundaries on the Tushipet river group territory (Map 2). Of the

1, [Errata: the word "terriotry" should read "territory"—Analyst]

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133 territory of the Otopuke river group, that part of it which extended over the
423 watershed into the Tsushipet river basin was called *ekoipokun an (Otopue)*
619 *iworu iworu* in the east of Otopuke), while the aforesaid portion that bordered
823 on Shikaripet was called *echupokun an (Otopuke) iworu (iworu* in the west of Otopuke; the geographical Otopuke river basin plus the above portions was known as Otopuke *iworu*. The reason given by Kazari for the two glens forming the territorial boundaries is that they run on the west side of Mt. Piripet where all the glens point in the direction, and flow out, of 'the true head mountain of the Otopuke' that lies deep in the most revered source of the main Otopuke. The glens rest on Otopuke and that is why their areas formed its *iworu*. On the other hand, the glens on the east side of the mountain point to the head of the Tushipet: they rest on Tushipet. That is why their areas formed the *iworu* thereof.

Tushipet.—Mention has already been made of the Tushipet river basin, home of the Tsuhipet river group, forming in part an extension of the neighbouring Otopuke river group area; into another part of the same basin there extended the Kusuri river group's territory adjoining on the other side. This was an area encircled on one side by the watershed draining on the Penkesempiri side into the Ashoro, tributary to the Tushipet, on another side by the main course of the Tushipet above the end of the watershed and on another by the watershed that divides the Tushipet and Kusuri river basins.

Mukawa.—As Kashindeashi of Chin heard from people of the older generation who lived the traditional life, their hill hunting grounds for deer lay at the head of the Noyasube glen that feeds the neighbouring river Azuma. They were covered with a well-developed fir forest, affording fine winter quarters for the deer, and the hunters built their huts on the edge of the forest. Geographically, the place lies within the Azuma river valley, but it never belonged to Azuma *iworu* or basin as distinguished by the Ainu. Though the actual demarcation lines are not clear, the lower Noyasube which is tributary to the Azuma belonged, at any rate by Ainu distinction, to Azuma *iworu* and therefore to the Azuma Ainu. Nevertheless, the uppermost reaches of the glen alone belonged to the Mukawa Ainu. The reason, though vague, is given as below. Three glens flow out of the waterhead mountain—the Noyasube, the Irushikapet and the Moipet. Of these only the Noyasube flows on the side of Azuma; the other glens, running on the side of Mukawa, enter Mukawa *iworu* or basin. That is why the uppermost Noyasube, rising at[1] it does with the others in the same mountain, belonged alone to Mukawa *iworu*.

Saru.—As Hachiro Kurokawa, son of the Nukipet headman's brother, heard from people of the older generation, the natives of the Nukapira, tributary

1. [Errata: the word "at" should read "as". Cf. errata sheet, p.164-A--Analyst]

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to the Saru, went for bear hunts beyond the upper reaches of their river into those of the adjacent Nikap river. For the area on the Nukapira side that stretched between the Puirapet and Aipet glens, both tributary to the upper Nikap, was Nukapira terriotory, whereas the area lying opposite was Nikap territory and no Nukapira Ainu could cross the river Nikap without permission. This area on the upper Nikap which formed an extension of Nukapira territory apparently coincides with what has already been reported by IZUMI as a part of Saru iworu (IZUMI, 1951, p. 43). He ascribes the origin to a strife in which the area was taken by the people of Saru as prize from those of a neighbouring river area. As far as the author has examined, no information is available from any river valley to confirm such an origin.

These briefly are the evidences from which it might very roughly be concluded that there is no doubt about the Ainu conceptions of territory resting upon their cosmological theory on the relations between the river and the mountain and the actual demarcation being conditioned by that theory. The details will be given in Charpter VI.

46) It may be assumed from what Hachiro Kurokawa of Nukipet, an old Ainu settlement on the Nukapira, tributary to the river Saru, a son of a brother of the Nukipet headman, heard from people of the elder generation who knew traditional life, that the natives living on the Nukapira river course—residents of Nukipet (a local group), Nioi and Shikerepe (both probably local groups) settlements—had been from old times a group by themselves distinct from any others living along the main Saru, or a distinct 'river group' as termed by the writer. By native distinction the river Nukapira, like the river Saru, formed a distinct *pet*, main stream or river, pointing to its own head mountain, Poroshiri. The two rivers were accompanied each by a river-spirit, *petorun kamui* of its own. The people of Saru observed their own ritual for the Saru river-spirit, *petorun kamuinomi*; those of Nukapira their own. On some necessary occasions the inhabitants of Nukapira conducted a group activity independent of the Saru people. "Members of the same river group could freely go gathering anywhere within their own river area, as did the Nukapira people. But the people of Nukapira were not to go fishing without permission in the Saru river area. In any area other than their own they could never act freely". This information, of which little more particulars are to be known, carries an impression that the people of Nukapira might have formed a different river group from those of Saru. IZUMI's report on the Saru Ainu as a territorial group gives no mention about these point[1] but treats the natives of the Nukapira and the main Saru as belonging to the same river group. Apart from this, there is no available report relating to the matter.

1, [Errata: the word "point" should read "points". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

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621 423 (47) About the territory jointly maintained by the local group.—"Hokkaidō Kyū-dojin" (The Former Natives of Hokkaido), published in 1911 by the Hokkaido government, informs, "Although no definite boundary marked off one *kotan* territory from another, its area of fishing and hunting was apparently more or less clearly defined" (Quoted in SASAKI, 1927, p. 25). TAKAKURA remarks that the *kotan* or a group of *kotan* had a hunting or fishing ground in common for all its members to utilize freely and that trespass by non-members was forbidden by penalty of atonement, *ashimpe* (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 21). He also quotes an Ainu as informing, "Areas for deer and bear hunting as well as for fishing were marked off. Natives of a *kotan* were not to hunt or fish elsewhere than in their own area or territory. Anyone that dared to do so was punished immediately" (Ibid., p. 21). The last-cited information closely resembles the accounts heard by the present writer from a good many informants. Such, for example, was the abstract and generalized information picked up in the earlier stage of his interviews: "For both hunting and fishing each *kotan* had its own restricted area"; "Fishing grounds were customarily marked off for different *kotan*"; "In front of one's *kotan* was its fishing ground"; "Each *kotan* had its own area for deer and bear hunting"; "From the time of our great-grandfathers or great-great-grandfathers each *kotan* had had a dale of its own for bear hunting"; "Formerly each *kotan* had its own *iworu*, hunting ground"; "Bear hunters protected their respective *iworu* (p. 70; Note 58) as their own"; etc.

[685] [192] On further analysis of these generalizations in the light of both tne habitat and the actual gathering activities performed in it, it will be seen that after all the word *kotan* is used in two ways: a local group as a whole in reference to a fishing ground and a cooperative group as a constituent unit of a settlement, *kotan*, in reference to a hunting ground. Actually, the fishing ground or territory for each *kotan* was the named spawning grounds of dog salmon maintained jointly by the local group (p. 59). Strangely, notwithstanding their extreme importance to Ainu life, spawning grounds as such have received no attention so far from students of the Ainu. The hunting ground of each "*kotan*" as called by the Ainu themselves means actually the bear or deer hunting territory maintained by a cooperative group of males from families usually belonging to the same settlement. For distinction and relationship between the *iworu* as simply an area around a stream and the *iworu* as a hunting territory, see Note 58.

Referring to the Saru valley Ainu, IZUMI reports as follows: "The *iworu* (i.e. territory of the Saru people, as the arena of their daily life, is divided among and occupied by a certain number of *kotan* (villages)....It is probibited to enter the *iwor* of any other *kotan* than one's own without permission, except the *ru* (public way)" (IZUMI, 1951, p. 29 and Map 2 on p. 32). As in-

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vestigated by the present writer, however, there is no evidence to show a division of the *iworu* as an entire river group territory into a number of sub-*iworu* each occupied by one of the constituent local groups and controlled for all exploitative activities conducted within the boundary, though it is certain that their gathering sites except bear-hunting grounds were concentrated around each own *kotan*. MUNRO shows a diagram representing the principle of assigning fishing and hunting rights among the Saru Ainu (MUNRO, 1962, p. 156).

48) The information was given by Kazari from Otopuke.

*The people of Opchapet and Ichanpet settlements, located between Wop and Nipushipet and both belonging to the upper local group, exploited the spawning grounds at the junctions of the Opchapet and Ichanpet glens respectively; but to all appearances the grounds had no specific names. Spawning beds there were so few and scattered that they went to the concentration or ground exploited regularly by the neighbouring Kamaune group or by permission to that of Nipushipet group farther downstream.

** The spawning ground at the junction of the Otopuke, Otopuke-*putu un ichanuni*, came off last in season in the whole river course (for the distribution of the spawning grounds as related to their time of occurrence, see Note 28). During the last week or so of the season, between the closing on the upper stream and that on the whole, this ground was exploited every year by people of the settlements lower than Nupushipet, i.e. the lower local group. They went there by night and speared by torch lights. In the daytime they found it difficult to spear the fish hiding in deep places. It must be noticed that customarily each family of the lower local group sent to each family of the upper local group a gift of one, two or three fish from out of their catch, according to the size of the recipient family.

49) The information on the spawning grounds of the Memroputu group except those at Chepotpiuka, and of the Fushikopet, Furemem and Ponsatnai groups, was given by Ritu Yoshine from Fushiko, and that on the rest by Ushino from Nitmap.

* The spawning ground at Kapotpira was the territory of the Pipaushi group; it seems, however, that some members of the Nitmap group also came to fish there.

** The Sanenkoro group had only one spawning ground of their own on the main stream; they intensively utilized three other spawning grounds on the Sahorun, a tributary, claiming them as their fishing territory.

*** Ushino from Nitmap could name two other spawning grounds concerning the group: Shupusan-*putu un ichan* (ca. 100 yds) and Kiusan-*putu*

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un ichan (ca. 100 yds). These relatively small spawning grounds on the Memro, a tributary to the Tokapchi, were exploited habitually by the Memro-putu group in time of a rise of the main stream; it is, however, not clearly known whether or not they had a claim to these.

50 In regard to the Satnai, it is not known whether Munhunki group, a settlement and a local group, had any spawning ground of their own. My informant, Ushino, from Nitmap could not name any more spawning grounds on the Satnai than those mentioned in the text, which she actually visited in company with some of her kinsmen in Satnai, though to all appearances there were some more.

51 The following information on the named spawning grounds on the lowest course of the Saru given by Mopi from Nina, one of the *pishun kotan* (p. 62) of the valley, is based on her direct observations and experiences in the period covering some years from the time of the land-allotment downward. There are some evidences that even in those days, at least these settlements and the local groups on the lowest course respectively remained in approximately the same area as before and continued to practise dog salmon fishing, controlling the spawning grounds by means of ritual observances similar to those described in pp. 72-73.

Named Spawning Grounds on the Lower Saru
(in descending order of location)

Name of Spawning Ground	Group Exploiting Regularly	Controlling Body
Panke-piraturu-putu Un Ichan*	Piraturu settlement group	Piraturu group as local group
Penke-nina-putu Un Ichan	Nina settlement group	Nina group as local group
Apka Un Ichan	Sarupa settlement group	Sarupa group as local group
Shira-putu Un Ichan**	" "	(?)

* The Piraturu group seems to have controlled several other grounds besides this, which was their best

** This ground also seems to have been controlled by the Sarupa group, but it is not certain.

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that the way of calling one and the same controlling body varied with varying situations, as when the addressed or the subject belonged to one's own settlement, to another of the same river group, or to an entirely different river group. To cite just an example, the *ku ari ushi* of a hunting group—Zarashi and his sons—of Nitmap settlement belonging to the Tokapchi river group, was known as 'Zarashi *koru to oun iworu*', '*kuI kor iworu*', 'Nitmap name of the settlement *un to be at utar (people) kor iworu*', and 'Tokapchi *shipet* name *un utar kor iworu*'. It must be noticed that the last name is identical with that of the *pet* area seen as the entire river group territory. These names, then, all denoting the hunting grounds of a particular cooperative group, stood for the dale area under its habitual control with attendant ritual observance.

Here caution must be taken in discriminating between the *iworu* as a river basin and the *iworu* as the hunting territory of a cooperative group. Nor should the *iworu* in the latter sense be taken, when designated as aforesaid by the name of a settlement, as if standing for any territory jointly controlled by the settlement group or local group.

Pilsudsky reports that the Ainu of Saghalin have from time immemorial distributed all the streams among themselves as private property, and no one but the owner has the right to hunt anywhere along the stream (PILSUDSKY, 1912, p. 136).

59 The orientation scheme of the Ainu house has been referred by some writers merely to the points of the compass, while a few have referred it to the direction in which the house stands to the river flowing by the settlement.

YOSHIDA, who visited one of the Otopuke settlements in 1907, observed that every house in the settlement invariably opened its door to the south, that is, to the lower stream of the river Otopuke with one window facing east and another facing north, the second being called *kamui puyara* because it opened to the north where *kamui* dwells (YOSHIDA, 1956a, p. 11). He describes about the Ainu of the age before 1885 who lived in the vicinity of Fushiko on the middle Tokapchi which he visited in 1907 and 1914 and where he became a resident from 1916 to 1930, as follows. The native houses stood along the bank of the river in the order from upper to lower positions with each *kamui* window opening to the waterhead mountain and each door to the lower stream. Outside each house, toward the upper stream, there stood the altar, between which and the window was erected the cage for the bear cub. The orientation scheme of the houses varys according to the direction in which the river flows (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 45). A generalization on the meaning of positions is also made by him as follows: "In every district a position in an Ainu house on the side of the upper stream is regarded as an upper